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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND AND EIGHTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Saturday, 30 May 1992, at 2.25 p.m.

President:	Mr. HOHENFELLNER	(Austria)
Members:	Belgium	Mr. NOTERDAEME
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Daoyu
	Ecuador	Mr. AYALA LASSO
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. BUDAI
	India	Mr. GHAREKHAN
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. PERKINS
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA
	Zimbabwe	Mr. MUMBENGEGWI

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The meeting was called to order at 2.25 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL PURSUANT TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 752 (1992) (S/24000)

LETTER DATED 26 MAY 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF CANADA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/23997)

LETTER DATED 27 MAY 1992 FROM THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24024)

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 752 (1992), contained in document S/24000.

Members of the Council also have before them a draft resolution submitted by Belgium, France, Hungary, Morocco, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, contained in document S/24037.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/23996; S/23997; S/23998; S/24007 and S/24027; S/24011; S/24024; S/24028; and S/24034.

Members of the Council have also received photocopies of letters dated 29 and 30 May 1992 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, which will be issued as documents of the Security Council under the symbols S/24039 and S/24043, respectively.

(The President)

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. JESUS (Cape Verde): Like the rest of the world, we are deeply disturbed by - indeed we condemn - the widespread use of violence in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The press reports and television images that come to our attention every day on the war being waged against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina picture a horrible and tragic situation that has victimized thousands of innocent civilians, destroyed cultural and historical landmarks, hospitals and schools and brought immense suffering to the population.

For months now the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina have been enduring mercilessly the effects of destructive policies and aims of Serbia and Montenegro that have left behind them a trail of repulsive atrocities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Croatia as well. Yet the international community was not able to come to the rescue of the affected population. Indeed the violence against Bosnia and Herzegovina intensified in the last two weeks, as we were then unwilling and unable to take strong countermeasures to bring the carnage to a halt. Our non-action was, I am afraid, interpreted as a licence issued to the strongest to prevail. We believe that that was a mistake that should be avoided in future cases by this Council.

As a small country our defence and security are totally based upon the ability of this Council to play effectively and decisively its primary role of maintaining international peace and security. If this Council is to be an effective instrument of international peace and security, as we think it should be, if this Council is to defuse crises - and potentially there are scores of them out there - then its message should be a clear and an unequivocal one. The Council, in our view, should at all times condemn and

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

take prompt and appropriate measures against any aggressor and should act to prevent bloodshed, rather than reacting to atrocities and destruction.

So long as there are nation-States, there will always be territorial conflicts, and the natural impulse to solve them unilaterally and by military means will tend to prevail whenever adequate and decisive action is not expected from this Council. My country believes that we should build on this deterrent role of the Security Council.

My delegation will cast an affirmative vote on the draft resolution before us. We believe that the sanctions contemplated in it are warranted and are a response commensurate with the tragedy unfolding before our eyes in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In voting for this draft resolution, it is not our intention to endorse action against Serbia and Montenegro, nor to impose hardship on their people. Our only intention is to assist in the creation of an environment conducive to the restoration of peace and tranquillity in Bosnia and Herzegovina that will allow a peaceful and negotiated solution for the internal problems of that Member of the United Nations to be worked out. We shall be glad to advocate and vote for the lifting of these sanctions at any time and as soon as Security Council resolution 752 (1992) is abided by and implemented.

Before concluding, we should like to pay a tribute to all those who have been providing humanitarian assistance to the affected population. We emphasize the important humanitarian role being played by the International Committee of the Red Cross, which has been, in the darkness of this tragedy, a shining star of humanitarian hope. My delegation has the highest esteem for

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

all those who, unselfishly, volunteer to assist the victims of this tragic war, endangering their own lives. We pay our respects to the Red Cross official who died on his humanitarian front this month in Bosnia and present our sincere condolences to his family.

Mr. LI Daoyu (China) (interpretation from Chinese): First of all, please allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. With your well-known and remarkable talents, you have successfully guided the work of the Security Council in May. I should also like to thank your predecessor, Mr. Mumbengegwi, Ambassador of Zimbabwe, who made a positive contribution to the fulfilment of the Council's work last month.

Though two weeks have passed since the adoption of Security Council resolution 752 (1992), it is regrettable that armed conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina are still raging; we have witnessed repeated violations of the cease-fire agreements and the frequent occurrence of bloodshed. The number of displaced persons is increasing drastically and humanitarian assistance is still being hindered. The whole situation has further deteriorated. The Chinese delegation is deeply concerned with and disturbed by such a situation. We condemn all the sanguinary incidents in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is distressing for us to see great losses of life and property inflicted upon the people in Bosnia and Herzegovina and we express profound sympathy for the over 1 million displaced persons who are now living in misery. We cannot but express our regret that Security Council resolution 752 (1992) and the relevant agreements for the withdrawal of the troops have not been complied with.

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

In the past several weeks, the increasingly deteriorating situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina has given extensive grave concern to the international community. People have reason to feel anxious that this crisis may get entirely out of control. Under such circumstances, many countries have called on the international community, and especially on the Security Council, to adopt more effective steps for a solution to this crisis. This is very understandable and reasonable.

The Chinese delegation is in favour of the international community's taking appropriate measures for an early settlement of the crisis. However, the situation in the former Yugoslavia is complicated and the cause of the conflict is multifaceted. We are concerned that sanctions will probably lead to further deterioration of the situation and create serious consequences affecting the life of the people in the region and the economy of the neighbouring States. This is something none of us wishes to see. In our view, there still exist opportunities to resolve the crisis with means other than sanctions.

The Chinese delegation will abstain in the voting on the draft resolution before us.

I wish to reiterate here that the Chinese Government has all along maintained that all international disputes or conflicts should be settled through negotiations and by peaceful means. We oppose the use of force. The Chinese delegation strongly urges all parties and others concerned in Bosnia and Herzegovina to stop all the fighting without any further delay and observe swiftly and effectively Security Council resolution 752 (1992) and the relevant cease-fire agreements.

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

Meanwhile, we demand that all forms of interference from outside Bosnia and Herzegovina cease immediately. We call upon all parties to create as early as possible conditions, including the opening of Sarajevo airport, to ensure the effective and unhindered delivery of humanitarian assistance by the international community. We also demand that all forcible expulsions of persons cease immediately.

The Chinese delegation sincerely hopes that all parties concerned in Bosnia and Herzegovina will resume their negotiations immediately and reconcile their differences by peaceful means so that people of all nationalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina can live in harmony and embark once again on the road of economic development and reconstruction at an early date.

We hope that all the relevant regional organizations will continue their positive and constructive efforts. We support the Secretary-General playing his proper role as he continues his mediation activities.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of China for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. MUMBENGEGWI (Zimbabwe): Since this is the first time I have spoken in this Chamber this month, allow me in these final stages of your stewardship to begin by congratulating you, Sir, upon your assumption of the Council's presidency for the month of May and to express my delegation's full satisfaction at the skilful and effective way in which you have guided the Council's deliberations on a long and difficult agenda over the past weeks.

My delegation is gravely concerned at the continuing strife in the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and in particular at the deepening crisis in the humanitarian area. We deeply deplore the unacceptable loss of

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

life witnessed daily in the area and the obstacles that continue to hinder the delivery of humanitarian assistance. We are also very concerned at the risk to which personnel of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) are now exposed as a result of this continuing crisis.

The question of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is extremely complex and delicate. Any effort to seek a settlement to the crisis should take that fact into account. We commend the numerous peace efforts that have been undertaken with respect to the Yugoslav question since the inception of the crisis. Zimbabwe had hoped that the process of negotiation undertaken within the framework of the European Conference on Yugoslavia would succeed in containing the crisis and arriving at a negotiated, comprehensive, peaceful settlement. It was our view that the principles and considerations that had been established to guide that Conference had taken into account the complexity of the situation. Of particular importance in that regard was the Declaration of the European Community of 8 November 1991, which stated that

> "the prospect of recognition of the independence of those [Yugoslav] Republics wishing it can only be envisaged in the framework of an overall settlement". (S/23203, annex, p. 3)

The report of the Secretary-General of 11 December 1991 (S/23280) had warned that any departure from that principle could hold very serious dangers not only for the Republics of Yugoslavia but for all its peoples and for the maintenance of peace and security in the region. That warning was repeated in the letter sent by the Secretary-General to the then President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community, which characterized any departure from that principle as "a potential time-bomb".

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

What has happened since is now history, and its consequences are what we are witnessing today.

Zimbabwe believes that the present strife and carnage in Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot be allowed to continue and that it has to be brought to an end as speedily as possible. A climate has to be created to enable the peoples of that country to coexist in peace and harmony without any external interference. The challenge before us is to find a way that will achieve that result without causing further strife and suffering.

The break-up of a State, as witnessed in Yugoslavia over the past months, is always a harrowing experience, leaving many wounds, both physical and emotional. Any effort to bring about a lasting settlement has to pay special attention to reconciling the various protagonists. Zimbabwe is fully aware of the efforts of the European Community in this regard. However, we are also aware that the Security Council has not gone beyond peace-keeping and humanitarian operations in Yugoslavia. This may well be the time for the Council to put its full weight behind the Secretary-General in a peacemaking role. We would like to see the Secretary-General actively involved in efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina in cooperation with the efforts currently under way.

Zimbabwe, while not opposed to sanctions in principle, is concerned about the possible impact of a sanctions régime at this stage of the crisis. Will the imposition of sanctions encourage all the parties involved to cooperate fully in reaching a negotiated solution, or will it militate against this essential ingredient to any lasting solution? Will sanctions contribute towards confidence-building among the parties involved, or will they lead to

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

desperate acts by some of the parties? Will they lead to more order in Bosnia and Herzegovina, or will they lead to more chaos? Will they lead to an improvement or a deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina? What are the implications of sanctions for the operations and the future of UNPROFOR? Those questions remain unanswered.

It is these uncertainties that lead my delegation to believe that instead of taking the Chapter-VII route at this point in time, the Council should mandate the Secretary-General to seek a negotiated settlement. We believe that there are indications that such an effort by the Secretary-General would receive the required cooperation from the parties.

The elements of this crisis are so complex that we find it difficult to envisage any solution other than a negotiated settlement.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Zimbabwe for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. BUDAI (Hungary): Since the adoption of resolution 752 (1992) on 15 May 1992, the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina has not improved at all, but, unfortunately, has been continuously deteriorating. The cease-fire agreements are not holding; the fighting has not stopped. The interference from outside Bosnia and Herzegovina has not ceased; the territorial integrity of that sovereign and independent country is not respected. The elements of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) left behind are not under the authority of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina; their weapons have not been placed under effective international monitoring or control. The forcible expulsions of persons continue, and the attempts to change the ethnic composition of the

(Mr. Budai, Hungary)

population have not been abandoned. The irregular forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina have not yet been disbanded or disarmed. The humanitarian situation continues to be catastrophic, as amply reflected in the report of the Secretary-General.

To sum up, the provisions of resolution 752 (1992) are not being complied with at all, and the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina is raging on.

(Mr. Budai, Hungary)

Since last Friday, however, a new element, in fact a very important new dimension, has been added to the overall picture which should not be left aside, namely, that this naked aggression is committed against a State Member of the United Nations.

Those tragic events going on in the southern neighbourhood of my country are unprecedented in the post-Second World War history of Europe. At the end of our century, undisguised efforts to create so-called nation-States, incorporating all people belonging to the same ethnic background, and the blatant use of force to achieve this aim through territorial conquests, are completely inadmissible and inexcusable. This is a policy which is totally contradictory to everything for which our Organization stands.

We all know very well which party bears the overwhelming responsibility for this kind of development of the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Despite diplomatic efforts and actions by European regional organizations and others, the Belgrade leadership has not changed its behaviour. Therefore, the time has come for the Security Council to live up to its responsibilities enshrined in the Charter and send the appropriate message to the aggressor. This is our political task and moral obligation as well. We welcome the fact that the members of the Security Council have realized the dangers of this bloody conflict and arrived at the conclusion that decisive measures should be taken on behalf of the international community.

On the basis of the aforementioned considerations, my delegation supports and co-sponsors the draft resolution contained in document S/24037 envisaging mandatory sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro under Chapter VII of the Charter. As members of the Council may recall, we have urged the Council for some time to make it known to the Belgrade authorities that their actions

(Mr. Budai, Hungary)

cannot go on without serious consequences. Although we are aware of the fact that the adoption of this package of sanctions will affect not only those targeted but other countries as well, in and outside the region, we do believe that by these measures the Council reaffirms its own credibility and takes a very important step towards the containment of aggression and the restoration of peace and stability in a region which finds itself in a complex and sometimes painful transition period and where the dangers of the unfolding developments are still incalculable.

Mr. AYALA LASSO (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. President, I endorse the statements made by those who congratulated you on the way you have guided the proceedings of the Security Council this month. My appreciation goes also to the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe for his presidency of the Council during the month of April.

Since the middle of last year, the political situation in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been deteriorating. We have now seen levels of violence so high that they resemble the blood-letting, loss of human life and destruction so well described by Francisco de Goya y Lucientes in his "Caprichos", filled with the horror of war. The world and the Security Council cannot remain impassive in the face of this situation. We consider it necessary to adopt measures that will contribute to the restoration of peace and security in the region. Moreover, that is the principal mission and fundamental obligation entrusted to the Security Council by the Charter. Accordingly, the delegation of Ecuador supports the draft resolution under consideration.

Ecuador considers that the imposition of sanctions is one way of achieving a peaceful, negotiated solution. It is one means that must be used most cautiously as an exceptional case, and only in cases when circumstances

(Mr. Ayala Lasso, Ecuador)

warrant. In such cases, the Council should use that means and shoulder the corresponding responsibilities in order to facilitate the restoration of peace in a threatened area. We believe that above all, sanctions will contribute to the restoration of common sense and good judgement, especially in the minds of the leaders in the region. That process will make it possible for conversations and negotiations to take place leading to an overall political solution.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and various other European bodies have been cooperating and working to bring this about. The Security Council has adopted a series of resolutions in this connection. Unfortunately, however, neither those European efforts nor the endeavours of the Security Council have, to date, sufficed. That is why this new draft resolution is now before the Council.

Ecuador considers that, in order to deal with this crisis, priority attention must be accorded to the plight of the populations of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It is necessary to make facilities available and to provide ways and means to make it possible for humanitarian aid to be provided and for the assistance organized by the Council to be distributed.

In a comprehensive political overview, Ecuador considers that any solution must be based on strict compliance with the principle of territorial integrity of States. As was stated at the ministerial meeting of the Council in the middle of last year, this does not mean that there should be any change of borders by the use of force. It is indispensable that the rights of ethnic minorities be respected. It is indispensable that the principle of the self-determination of peoples be respected. That right should be accorded to the political entities that can assert self-determination rather than to

(Mr. Ayala Lasso, Ecuador)

minorities in those political entities. Regional responsibility must continue to be evinced and Europe must increase its efforts to play the major role in solving this crisis.

Finally, Ecuador considers that it is also indispensable for the Secretary-General, with the support of the entire Council, to continue actively to promote a solution to the crisis. On that basis the draft resolution before us could be a milestone in our efforts, thereby obviating the need for other resolutions and allowing the world to look forward to the speedy restoration of common sense and peace in that region.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Ecuador for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): Each day brings new, ominous reports of death and destruction. Japan is profoundly concerned by the deteriorating situation and escalating violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Swift and effective action by the Security Council is now called for, and Japan supports the draft resolution before us. I sincerely hope that the action now to be taken by the Security Council will soon lead to the restoration of genuine peace and security in that region.

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): I should like first of all to pay a tribute to you, Sir, for the way in which you have been presiding over the work of the Council for this month. We are indeed very grateful to you for your objectivity, impartiality, firmness and tact. I should also like to pay a tribute to the delegation of Zimbabwe for the manner in which it presided over the Council last month. We are particularly grateful to Zimbabwe because it gave us not one but two distinguished Presidents during one month.

My delegation approaches the subject of today's discussions with a sense of deep anguish, distress and anxiety. We are saddened by the fratricidal conflict raging in what until recently was a highly esteemed member of the international community, a founder of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and a responsible and active player on the United Nations scene. Earlier this month India had the pleasure of extending diplomatic recognition to the States of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Only eight days ago, on 22 May, India co-sponsored resolutions that welcomed those States into the United Nations. Today, one of those new Members, Bosnia and Herzegovina, is racked by conflict that takes the lives of innocents, devastates the region and threatens to spill over into other countries.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

India has been horrified by the violence there and condemns it. We believe that the international community has a duty to make all efforts to bring this violence to an end. Members of the Council will recall the Secretary-General's reports testifying to this. Among the examples he gave was the enormous displacement of peoples, unprecedented in magnitude since the Second World War. There is thus a clear threat to international peace and security that the Council must address.

Resolution 752 (1992) of the Council, which spelled out the basic requirements that all parties to the conflict were to meet, remains unimplemented. My delegation shares the grave concern of the Council at this and at the continuing and rapid deterioration of the situation. We believe, therefore, that urgent, decisive and effective action is needed to stop this tragedy.

I do not want to go into what is by now familiar to all, namely, the history of the conflict. No one amongst the adversaries is beyond reproach. But there is public evidence and the evidence of experts, including that of the United Nations, on where the main responsibility lies. Today's draft resolution starts from this point. The sponsors of the draft resolution have explained to us that its primary objective is to send an unmistakable message that the Security Council will not countenance violence in the pursuit of sectarian ends, whatever they might be, nor can it permit atrocities' being committed with impunity. Misuse of power and resort to violence should be replaced by peaceful, politically negotiated solutions.

We also understand that the intention is not to punish but to persuade. These are desirable objectives. My delegation is further of the view that whatever measures are envisaged in such a context should be carefully

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

considered. Action in response to a crisis should be rapid, but not hasty; decisive, but not unbalanced; effective, and not overreaching itself. The cure, in other words, should not be worse than the disease.

We have defined our position on the draft resolution in the light of these considerations. Many of our concerns find a place in the draft. During the consultations my delegation had insisted that, for humanitarian reasons, the supply of foodstuffs should, like medicines, be exempt from trade sanctions. I am glad that this has been incorporated in the draft resolution. My delegation is also satisfied that our suggestion to incorporate a paragraph reaffirming the Council's responsibility in terms of Article 50 of the United Nations Charter has been accepted. We further note that the draft resolution has been sufficiently modified with a view to preserving and respecting the demarcation, as enshrined in the Charter, of responsibilities between the General Assembly and the Security Council in regard to membership in the United Nations.

At the same time, we should not close our eyes to some possible implications of Chapter VII measures. Will they help to bring about the peaceful settlement that we all seek? What effect will sanctions have on the cooperation from all parties that is indispensable for the United Nations Protection Force in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) to fulfil its mandate? Such questions are meant not to undermine today's exercise but to strengthen it by examining and, if necessary, reinforcing its underpinnings.

My delegation firmly believes that diplomacy should be given every chance to succeed. In this context we acknowledge with appreciation the sustained efforts of the European Community and of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to find a peaceful solution to this tragic

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

conflict. My delegation had felt that a period of warning, however brief, might have been worth serious consideration. A little delay in certain situations might help. It could, for example, enable the Secretary-General to add his enormous influence to the efforts of the European Community. However, my delegation decided to defer to the collective judgement of other members of the Council and not to press this point. We continue to believe, however, that the Council cannot afford not to make use of the services of our Secretary-General in the search for a peaceful solution.

These are important considerations for my delegation, but they do not - and I stress this - detract from our serious concern at what is happening in the region and from our conviction, as stated earlier, that the Council must act quickly and decisively to stop this grave and inhuman tragedy.

Taking into account all aspects of the issue and fully sharing the widespread sense of outrage at the continued violence, and in response to the international call for deterrent action, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of India for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. SNOUSSI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): First of all, Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on the efficient, firm and very pleasant manner in which you have led our work this month.

It is with some relief that today we see the Council preparing to attempt to put an end to the tragedy that has been gripping Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

It is also with a great deal of sorrow that we see the Council forced to declare a whole assortment of severe sanctions to halt the genocide that has been perpetrated against an independent country that is a Member of our Organization. I should also mention the guilt we all feel at having waited far too long. Indeed, for several weeks now, easily predictable events have been proceeding inexorably in the cruelest, most atrocious fashion.

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

During all that time - which was interminable for people who can no longer even bury their dead - thousands of old people, women and children still await our assistance. A Franciscan priest, Father Jozo, who managed to escape the hell of Sarajevo, described to us yesterday the suffering and martyrdom of those wretched people. We, he said, are their only hope.

Accordingly, I feel duty-bound to state that in the hearts and minds of the entire Islamic community and the members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which unanimously endorse my co-sponsorship of the draft before us, these sanctions are an expression of our total revulsion for and unreserved condemnation of the inhuman, intolerable acts that continue to be committed to this very day.

Every day, almost directly, we are helpless witnesses to crimes and practices unprecedented except, perhaps, in the Dark Ages. These sanctions do not represent punishment that a community is inflicting upon a country that has been failing in its duties and obligations; they are, above all, the firm and unequivocal demand on the part of all communities, of all races and religions, to put an end to blindness and intolerance.

May these warning shots remind the Serbs of the traditions that they themselves have respected for many decades, and may peace, concord and prosperity be restored to that region.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Morocco for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. ARRIA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. President, it has been most fortunate for the Council that you have been in the chair in the course of our discussions during this complex month, when your poise and competence have made such a major contribution. I should also like to join

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

those who have congratulated our colleague from Zimbabwe on the way in which he conducted the Council's work in the month of April.

Thousands of deaths, thousands and thousands of wounded; nearly a million refugees; hundreds of thousands of houses destroyed; 700 burned churches; all the mosques razed; hospitals, clinics, maternity wards bombed: how much longer must this Council wait before acting? How much longer does it have to try to negotiate with leaders who are insensitive and inflexible: until Bosnia and Herzegovina are totally extinct? The international community delayed too long in bringing this matter before the Council. In case unfortunate circumstances such as these befall another country, we must avoid the kind of delay that has caused all this bloodshed and destruction.

The delegation of Venezuela will cast a favourable vote for reasons that are basically humanitarian. We cannot refrain from clearly and unambiguously stating our views regarding the massacre that now obliges us to adopt sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

My delegation has carefully analysed the implications and consequences of the draft resolution. We share many of the concerns that have been expressed regarding its real impact on Bosnia and Herzegovina. We have concluded, however, that if we fail to act today we will be abandoning the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the worst possible fate. Respect for the norms and principles of international law is a prerequisite for peace and security in the world. Any State that violates them must be condemned.

As a country that has abided unfailingly by those principles, Venezuela cannot but vote in favour of the draft resolution, which is the last recourse in a lengthy process of negotiations tragically frustrated by the intransigence and violence of the leaders in Belgrade. These sanctions are

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

their responsibility: instead of heeding the call of the Security Council contained in resolution 752 (1992), and the appeals of the European Community, the leaders in Belgrade have flouted international opinion and widened the scope of their attacks on Bosnia and Herzegovina to Dubrovnik and other parts of Croatia. This resolution deplores and condemns the conduct of a State that has abused its military power and trampled the sovereignty of a State Member of our Organization, Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is no longer a domestic problem for the former Yugoslavia.

The resolution will also send an important message to States that think they can still solve their differences with other States by force of arms. Let those who do so be convinced today that the Security Council will discharge its mandate to preserve international peace and security. The Security Council has reached this point after all the failed efforts of the international community to halt the massacres in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The long negotiating process led only to an increase in violence, death and destruction. It is the leaders of Belgrade who have thus brought about this draft resolution.

Venezuela will vote today as it has done in other tragic circumstances. The defence and protection of human rights and the defence of international law must be given equal weight. There is no room here for a double standard. The Federation, with its diversity of population and imposed unity no longer exists. The heirs of that prestigious and respected nation, a founder, together with Egypt and India, of the Non-Aligned Movement, are today in Croatia, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Kosovo, in Slovenia, in Macedonia and in Vojvodina - not merely in Serbia and Montenegro. Yugoslavia is no longer in the midst of a civil war, as was said last year by the former Chancellor,

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

Mr. Loncar: Belgrade is today waging war against other States, sovereign Members of our Organization.

We share the hopes expressed by other Council members that the sanctions - which stem from the intransigence of the Belgrade authorities - will lead to peace and harmony in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their lifting will depend exclusively upon the will of Belgrade.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Venezuela for his kind words addressed to me. I shall now put the draft resolution contained in document S/24037 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Austria, Belgium, Cape Verde, Ecuador, France, Hungary, India, Japan, Morocco, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, Venezuela

Against: None

Abstaining: China, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 13 votes in favour, none against and two abstentions. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 757 (1992).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. NOTERDAEME (Belgium) (interpretation from French): The resolution the Council has just adopted is the outcome of lengthy negotiations initiated by the three members of the European Community sitting on the Security Council, joined by the United States. It represents the end of a long process during which the European Community, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the United Nations have spared no effort to try to reach a peaceful, negotiated settlement to the grave crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Unfortunately, all those efforts at mediation have succeeded neither in preventing an escalation of the conflict nor in persuading the Serbian authorities to adopt a reasonable position. Belgium considers Belgrade's responsibility in the Bosnian crisis to be overwhelming. We have had plenty of corroboration of that responsibility from a number of sources, including the Secretariat of our Organization, and there is no need to dwell on it.

Faced with the failure of all those attempts, the international community has been powerless to do anything about the escalation of the conflict, which has reached a scale and savagery not seen in Europe for 47 years. The war has thus brought back the worst memories of anything Europe has known this century: the extermination of innocent victims and the forced displacement of populations, on the basis of ethnic and religious criteria, in grave violation of all human rights Conventions.

The recognition by the international community and the United Nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina has further emphasized for our Council the importance of dealing with this tragic situation. The Twelve have come to see the imposition of sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, as quickly as possible,

(Mr. Noterdaeme, Belgium)

as the only solution. Therefore, last Wednesday, 27 May, the Twelve decided to establish a trade embargo and called on

> "the Security Council of the United Nations also to adopt an embargo on oil and oil products as well as a freeze on assets and financial transactions and payments."

Belgium welcomes the fact that our Council has just acted along those lines.

While the Europe of the Twelve has been trying to establish a focus for European unification, where interdependence will transcend national conflicts that have occurred so often in the history of our continent, and while Central and Eastern Europe have been achieving, with hope but also with difficulty, democracy and intra-European rapprochement, the problems resulting from the break-up of the former Yugoslavia show clearly the path that should not be followed.

In this context, we believe it to be essential that our Council act clearly and forcefully. The purpose of the sanctions is less to be punitive than to compel the Serbian authorities immediately to end their interference in Bosnia and to act in a way that will foster an end to the fighting and the resumption of discussions on constitutional arrangements in Bosnia.

We therefore urge the Serbian authorities to comply with the requirements of resolution 752 (1992). That is the condition on which the sanctions could be lifted.

In this connection, my delegation noted with interest recent statements by the highest religious authorities in Serbia and by various Serbian opposition political parties. Belgium hopes that the Belgrade authorities will follow the advice coming not only from outside the country but also from

(Mr. Noterdaeme, Belgium)

its own people to put an end to a war that does dishonour to those who are prosecuting it and seriously compromises their future.

Mr. PERKINS (United States of America): The aggression of the Serbian regime and the armed forces it has unleashed against Bosnia and Herzegovina represent a clear threat to international peace and security and a grave challenge to the values and principles which underlie the Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris, and the United Nations Charter.

The United States, the European Community, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) community, and the Security Council - by the action it is taking today - are sending a clear message to the Serbian regime and to the forces it sponsors in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. We hope they will fully understand that message.

The international community will not tolerate the use of force and terror to settle political or territorial disputes. By its aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, and by its repression within Serbia, the Serbian regime can only condemn itself to increasingly severe treatment by a world united in its opposition to Serbian aggression. My Government has already informed both the Security Council and the General Assembly that it does not believe that the authorities in Belgrade represent the continuation of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. I note that many other countries have reserved their position on the continuity issue, and quite a few have adopted the same view as we have on this matter. It is further my Government's strong belief that the Security Council and then the General Assembly should act in the near future to confirm this position.

The Chapter VII measures we are taking today are serious and comprehensive. The United States is determined to see them through and if

(Mr. Perkins, United States)

necessary to seek further measures, until the Serbian regime changes course. It must reverse its brutal aggression. It must cease and desist from the campaign of terror it is conducting against the civilian populations of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. The Serbian and Montenegrin leadership must disband, disarm and withdraw the former units of the Yugoslav National Army and armed militias from Bosnia and Herzegovina and from Croatia immediately. The Serbian regime and its armed surrogates must cease inflicting suffering on the civilian populations of those two States, creating a humanitarian crisis of nightmare proportions, and applying force to block international humanitarian relief to its victims.

Belgrade and Serbian hardline leaders in Bosnia must instead cooperate in good faith with international humanitarian relief to those two States. Belgrade must clearly and unequivocally demonstrate respect for the independence, borders, territorial integrity and legitimate sovereign Governments of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and other former Yugoslav Republics. Belgrade must fulfil its solemn commitments to cooperate with the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). And it must join with all of the parties concerned in continuing negotiations to achieve a political settlement.

The United States will not have normal relations with Belgrade until it ends its occupation of neighbouring States and implements guarantees of rights for members of all national minorities within Serbia and Montenegro, as stipulated by the European Community Conference on Yugoslavia.

We regret the inevitable impact that the measures we are taking today will have on the people of Serbia and Montenegro. The American and Serbian peoples have a long tradition of friendship. The Serbian people have a long

(Mr. Perkins, United States)

and proud history as fighters for freedom - not as aggressors. We doubt very much that the Serbian people, whether in Serbia or in Bosnia and Herzegovina or Croatia, favour the brutally aggressive and repressive policies of the Serbian regime and the Serbian leaders it has sponsored in Bosnia and Croatia.

(Mr. Perkins, United States)

We further doubt that they want to shoulder the increasing economic and political costs of this brutal aggression or of the increasing international isolation it brings. This is not simply because these policies so clearly run counter to legitimate Serbian interests, but also because they run counter to the historical character of the Serbian people.

Down the road of continued conflict lies ruin. The people of the former Yugoslavia have suffered enough. We look forward to the restoration of peace and stability and reason, and to the time when peoples that had lived together peacefully in the past do so again. Reason, compromise and respect for international principles embodied in the accords of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the United Nations Charter must supplant aggression, hatred and intolerance. We in this Council, and many others, will work hard to that end.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The Russian delegation voted in favour of resolution 757 (1992), just adopted, on the basis of the need to put an end as soon as possible to any further deterioration of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The expansion of the ethnic strife into a broader bloody conflict involving groups and forces from republics bordering on Bosnia and Herzegovina constitutes a real threat to the countries of the region and to international peace and security.

As the statement of 30 May 1992 by the Government of the Russian Federation emphasizes, Russia is doing its utmost to strengthen the traditional links of friendship and cooperation with the Yugoslav peoples, to restore peace to their land and to guarantee their freedom and independence. That is the thrust of the unprecedented steps we have taken recently with

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

regard to Serbia, Croatia and all the sovereign States that have been formed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Our aim is to help Serbia and the other republics of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to find a way out of the crisis - not under some type of pressure, or through concessions to any outside threats, but as a result of a display of their own goodwill.

So far, however, Belgrade has not heeded good advice and warnings and has not complied with the demands of the international community. It has thereby brought upon itself sanctions by the United Nations. In voting for these sanctions, Russia is discharging its obligation as a permanent member of the Security Council for the maintenance of international law and order.

At the same time, we believe that the Security Council must go further and must shoulder the responsibility for a settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina and a settlement of the Yugoslav crisis as a whole, making use of all the measures for the restoration of peace provided for in the Charter of the United Nations. A good basis for doing this can be found in the agreements reached during the visit by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Russia to all the parties to the conflict. I shall list these agreements: recognition of the territorial integrity and independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, achievement of a political settlement through negotiations at a conference under the aegis of the European Community, a cease-fire, participation by United Nations forces in the settlement process, reopening of channels of communication, compliance with agreements on the evacuation of military barracks, reopening of the Sarajevo airport. We should also set up

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

an international commission with the task of identifying and punishing those specifically responsible for slaughtering civilians in Sarajevo and other areas.

In the coming days active and concrete efforts will have to be made in the region in order to put an end to the bloodshed which continues there, on the basis of agreed-upon principles such as recognition of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of States and renunciation of the "ethnic purity" of regions, and in order to protect the rights of national minorities and others.

There is no situation and there is no dispute that cannot be solved through negotiation and through mutual compromise. Once again we appeal to all peoples living in the republics of the former Yugoslavia and to their representatives to put an end to the fighting, to put an end to the escalation of the crisis, to refrain from the use of force in solving their problems, and to engage in a quest for a comprehensive settlement through peaceful political means alone, a settlement taking account of the legitimate interests of the various national communities. We believe that the opportunity for such a settlement is to be found in direct negotiations by the parties, within the framework of an international conference on Bosnia and Herzegovina under the aegis of the European Community.

In order to put an end to current, and prevent future, fratricidal wars that result from ethnic strife, we believe that the Security Council - perhaps in consultation with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe - can in the near future work out a list of criteria on the basis of which the Secretary-General might automatically bring up for consideration by the Security Council the question of sanctions against those who bear major

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

responsibility for bloodshed, and other decisive actions that might be taken by the international community.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): The conflict affecting the former Yugoslavia has recently taken a particularly tragic turn. In Bosnia and Herzegovina extremely violent fighting continues, with increasingly severe effects on the civilian populations. The number of displaced persons now exceeds one million, and the population remaining in the towns under siege are faced with deprivation and blind violence. Because of these confrontations, the efforts to provide humanitarian assistance to these populations have been almost completely interrupted, while the needs continue to mount. Finally, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) is encountering growing difficulties in carrying out its mission, and its personnel is increasingly becoming the target of deliberate attacks.

On 15 May last the Security Council, by adopting its resolution 752 (1992), put forward a set of demands designed to promote the cessation of hostilities and the continuation of peace efforts. We must note that these demands have not been met.

To be sure, the situation is complex, and there are many shared wrongs and responsibilities. But a firm reaction by the international community is essential. The European Community and its member States have already adopted a series of measures against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and have called upon the Security Council to take similar action.

The text the Council has just adopted posits the principle of the application, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, of

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

measures against any party that does not heed the demands put forward by the Security Council. It also calls for the immediate implementation of a set of measures against Serbia and Montenegro. These measures are very broad in scope, precisely because they are designed to respond to an extremely grave situation. Therefore, we are determined to avoid their leading to total isolation of the populations concerned, and to limit their impact on those populations. Thus, the trade embargo established in this resolution provides for exceptions in regard to medical supplies and foodstuffs.

The text also contains a provision for freezing sports contacts. I wish to indicate very clearly that France, which voted in favour of the resolution, disassociates itself from this passage. Why? Because the envisaged measure is derisory when compared to the seriousness of what is at stake; it is uselessly vexatious; and, above all, it is inappropriate because it has been borrowed from a panoply of measures adopted in another context - that is, the struggle against apartheid.

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

Moreover, the purpose of the resolution we have just adopted is not to punish or isolate certain parties, but to use pressure to promote the pursuit of peace efforts and the resumption of inter-community dialogue in Bosnia and Herzegovina. My delegation keenly hopes that purpose will be achieved so we can focus our efforts as soon as possible on the search for a peaceful settlement.

I wish to conclude by reiterating the concern of the French Government at the situation of the populations that have been affected by the conflict. We consider it to be of the utmost importance that everything be done speedily and in conditions of adequate safety to provide the help those populations need so badly. In that connection, we fully associate ourselves with the Council's appeal to the Secretary-General to study ways to permit the distribution of that help, in particular the reopening of Sarajevo airport. For its part, the French Government is ready to continue the efforts it has been making in that sphere.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): Mr. President, it is not, I think, entirely fair that you had to wait until the second-to-last day of the month before we congratulated you and your two predecessors on your performance, but the nature of this debate, and its preparation, are, I think, a sign of your skill.

The debate we are having today is not the first time we have discussed the matter of Yugoslavia. My country has been involved from the very beginning - since the crisis began very nearly a year ago - in the efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement to the problems that have arisen in that

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

country. We have not spared our efforts, through the European Community, through the peace conference under Lord Carrington, through the monitoring missions, through the constitutional conference in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is a matter for the greatest regret that so far those efforts have been to no avail. It is sometimes fashionable to decry those efforts. Personally, I render tribute to those who put so much time and effort into them: to the European Community monitors, some of whom have died in their performance of the task, which is an ungrateful one.

I think it really bears out a truth: that just as the peace-keepers find difficulty in keeping the peace if there is no peace to keep, the peacemakers find difficulty in making peace if there is not the minimum of cooperation with their efforts. And there has not, unfortunately, been that minimum of cooperation with their efforts so far.

The United Nations has had the same experience, and the deployment of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) is something we support very firmly. It is facing many difficult tasks now, but heaven knows what the carnage would be like if it were not there. So we wish all those involved in that thankless task the best, and we hope that UNPROFOR will continue and pursue its efforts.

Several speakers in the Council have mentioned that the responsibility for these events in Yugoslavia is shared among many. That is indeed the case, and I think it is extremely important and very good that the Council in its resolution today has underlined the fact that it intends to ensure that there is compliance by all with the principles set out in resolution 752 (1992). It is extremely important to maintain that.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

But having said that, there is really no doubt at all where the principal responsibility now lies: with the authorities, civil and military, in Belgrade. And that cannot be ducked; it is simply no good suggesting that they have nothing to do with the events that are going on in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Multiple-rocket launchers are not found in Serbian peasants' barns. They are provided from the supplies of the Yugoslav national army. They are munitioned from their supplies of ammunition. They are fuelled; they are paid for. That is where they come from. If the authorities in Belgrade really wanted us to believe their protestations of innocence, I doubt if they would be bombarding Dubrovnik today. They must think we are very stupid people indeed.

That is what has brought this Council to the matter of sanctions. These sanctions, as the resolution says, are designed purely and simply to try to bring about a peaceful solution; to bring the parties back to the negotiating table; to get them off the battlefield; to bring home to them that this is a bankrupt policy, that it will lead nowhere. My Government has no quarrel with the people of Serbia. They have been our allies in war; we have worked with them in peace; and we have nothing but respect for them. But the path on which their leaders are embarked now is a path that offers no solutions. And there is no way in which the future of the Serbian populations of Croatia, of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of Serbia itself is going to be assured by policies like these.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

We hope that this resolution will be the turning of a corner, that all will now come back to the conference table and that we can settle down there and work out the successor arrangements to a very complex crisis, but a crisis from which the United Nations, as an essential part of the solution, cannot walk away. We will support its efforts on a continuing basis.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Austria.

Today's decision by the Security Council to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro is harsh but necessary. It has become necessary because of the stubborn and irresponsible attitude of the Belgrade authorities, both military and civilian. Their policies and practices have caused suffering and destruction on a scale that in this day and age almost defies our imagination. They will eventually be judged not only by history but also by their own people. To sit in judgement is not our task today. Indeed, as the resolution just adopted states, the sole objective, even at this late hour, is to achieve a peaceful solution and encourage political efforts to that end.

This course of events - the immense suffering of the peoples of the former Yugoslavia and now in particular of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina - could have been largely avoided if our earlier calls for a peaceful solution had been heeded. As early as 25 September 1991, on the first occasion this Council dealt with the Yugoslav crisis, the Austrian Foreign Minister, Mr. Mock, stated that, first of all, it was necessary to

(The President)

stop the escalating spiral of violence, which had already reached Bosnia and Herzegovina. He then went on to outline the principles upon which relations among the peoples of the former Yugoslavia should be based in the future. Those principles - among them the strict observance of the principle of non-use of force, respect for human rights, protection of all minorities, and effective guarantees for equal participation in the political process by all population groups - remain valid.

The tragic evolution of the situation in the former Yugoslavia also shows the need for the United Nations to find ways and means for dealing with similar problems, at an earlier stage and more effectively. The Federal Chancellor of Austria, Mr. Vranitzky, has already mentioned this point, when he spoke in this Chamber on 31 January 1992.

This is not intended to be a criticism of the efforts of the United Nations to date. It was Austria itself that first called for the deployment of United Nations peace-keeping forces along traditional lines. But in the future we will have to do more and act more quickly, if possible preventively. Here, first of all, the dangerous situation in Kosovo comes to my mind, but regrettably there may also be others where a United Nations role may be necessary.

In the short run, Austria attaches particular importance to the establishment of a security zone encompassing Sarajevo and its airport, as stipulated in the present resolution. The parties and others concerned have to comply with the Council's demand to create immediately the necessary conditions for unimpeded delivery of humanitarian supplies. If that

(The President)

compliance is not forthcoming, the Council will have shortly to consider further measures necessary to ensure unimpeded delivery of humanitarian supplies.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers for this meeting. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 3.50 p.m.